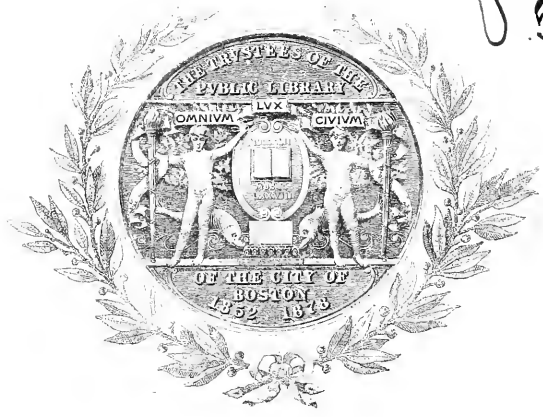
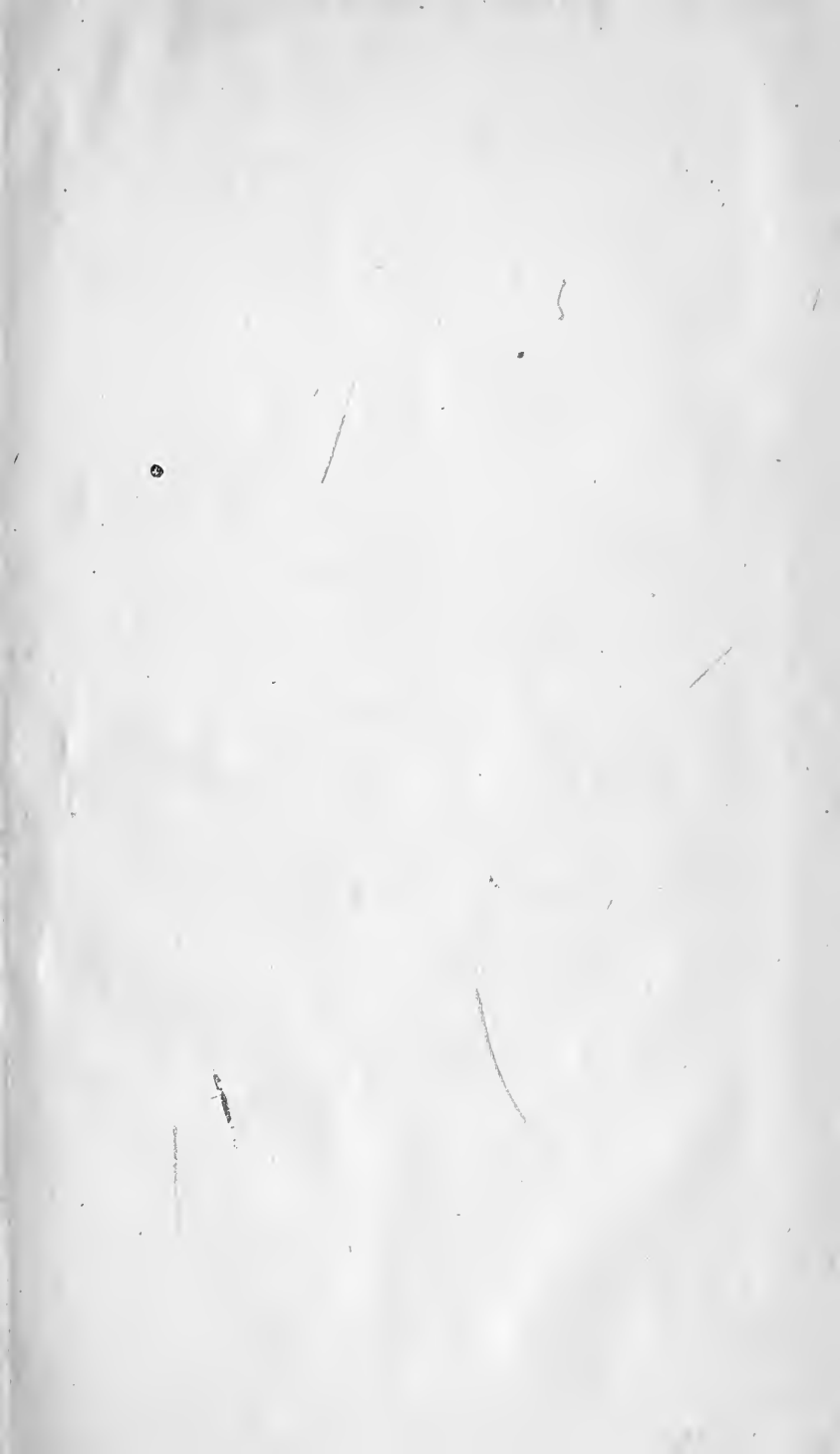


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FACTS

DESIGNED TO EXHIBIT THE

REAL CHARACTER AND TENDENCY

OF THE

AMERICAN

COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

BY CLERICUS.

"FIAT JUSTITIA, RUAT CÆLUM."

LIVERPOOL:

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FACTS, &c.

WITHIN the last few years the attention of all parties has been increasingly directed to the subject of Negro Slavery, and the certainty of its speedy abolition in our colonies has either been cheerfully welcomed, or reluctantly admitted. Those humane persons who commenced their career of benevolence by seeking the amelioration and gradual extinction of slavery, have been so thoroughly convinced of its incorrigible nature, and of the claims of the negro, as now to demand nothing short of the total annihilation of the system at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all parties concerned; while those who, a few years since, deprecated the slightest interference with their property and vested rights, and loudly contended that the slaves were contented and happy, now acknowledge that slavery is an evil, and plead not for its perpetuity, but for its gradual termination. Hence, many schemes have been devised, and many ameliorating measures have been discussed, the adoption of which are recommended with a view to the ultimate abolition of Colonial slavery. A somewhat similar movement has been made in the United States;—a slave population, rapidly increasing, and at present amounting to more than two millions, has awakened the fears, if it has not appealed to the justice, of the slave-holders, and the conviction has gradually attained possession of their minds, that the victims of their cupidity cannot long be retained in their present unnatural position with safety to the commonwealth. The evil under which America groans is broadly admitted, and a remedy has been loudly called for; anti-slavery efforts have been made to some extent, and within the last few years the

American Colonization Society has stood forward to offer a remedy, or, at least, to perform some act of justice or humanity to the degraded sons of Africa. The avowed object of this society "is *exclusively* directed to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their own consent, the *free* people of colour," and its ultimate design, as avowed by its friends, is the removal of the entire free and enslaved negro population to the shores of Africa. The society was formed in 1817, it has established a colony called Liberia, and has now located about 3,000 persons in that settlement. It proposes to carry forward its future operations on a more extended scale, and for the promotion of this object, one of its agents is now in Great Britain soliciting pecuniary aid from the benevolent and religious public.

This society commends itself to the countenance and support of philanthropic minds by a declaration of its humane intentions and benevolent effects. It is clearly the duty of every person thus appealed to, carefully to examine, and rigidly to scrutinize its claims; to see how far its pretensions are borne out by facts, and to ascertain its probable influence on the destinies of the coloured population of the United States. It is alleged that emancipation could not be safe or practicable in that country without such a valve as that now supplied by the society; that the free coloured people are a degraded race, and can never stand on equal ground with their white brethren; that the removal of this population will civilize and evangelize Africa, and effectually stop the progress of the slave trade. There is some inconsistency in these statements, if not palpable contradictions, and a careful examination of the pretensions of this society must go far to convince every candid and impartial mind of the unsoundness of its constitution. Invidious as it may appear to entertain a doubt of the excellency of a scheme patronized by men of character and fame, professing, as it does, to aim at the welfare of the African, it is, unquestionably, right to judge it by its own acts and words, and if found contrary to religion and justice, to denounce it as unworthy of being supported by humane men. It will be the object of these pages to unfold the real character of the American Colonization Society by an

appeal to its own accredited and published documents, and then to judge of its worth by the principles of humanity, justice, and religion.

This course, in part, has been objected to by its advocates in this country and in America. On quotations being printed from the speeches made at its annual meetings, and published with its reports, the plea has been set up that it is unfair to judge the society by the opinions of the speakers on its annual assemblings. But we ask where lies the unfairness of this procedure? Would the Bible, or Missionary, or Anti-slavery Societies of Great Britain feel themselves aggrieved by a reference to the speeches made at their public meetings, as developing the views which they entertained, or the motives by which they are actuated? Certainly not! For though on some minor points connected with the workings of their machinery a diversity of opinion may be tolerated, yet on all that vitally affected the interests and objects of their different institutions, unanimity of opinion would pervade the minds of their advocates. The Colonization Society, by publishing the speeches of its speakers with their annual reports, become responsible for the opinions thus set forth, and evidently manifest their approval of these sentiments by this act, especially as nothing in the shape of disapprobation is issued by the managers to warn the public of the dangerous and monstrous notions thus advocated. Moreover, these speakers are the warmest friends of the society; by the labours of some of them the society was originated, and they are found on its committee, and direct its movements. The meanness and jesuitism of shifting the grave charges brought against the society by pleading that it is not responsible for the views of its advocates are obvious, and it is to be hoped that this device will no longer serve the purposes for which it has been resorted to.

Specious as the plan of colonization appears, it is one to be deprecated and opposed by all the friends of the African race. It originated in the fears of slave-holders, and is the offspring of the Legislature of Virginia, its simple object being to colonize the free people of colour "either in Africa, or *such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient.*" It was no part of its plan to abolish slavery, to suppress the slave trade,

or to promote civilization or Christianity in Africa. Convenient as it may be in this country to represent these things as objects which it embraces, its simple design was and is, to get rid of the free coloured people, who are regarded in the slave-holding states as the filth and offscouring of all things. Their influence is obviously dreaded, and their increasing numbers looked upon with the greatest horror and alarm. This is proved by the following quotations from the *African Repository*, an avowed organ of the Colonization Society:—"The free blacks are a greater nuisance than even the slaves themselves."—"Their freedom is licentiousness, and to many, restraint would prove a blessing: the increase of a free black population among us has been regarded as a greater evil than the increase of slaves; of all the descriptions of our population, and of either portion of the African race, the free people of colour are by far, as a class, the most corrupt, depraved, and abandoned."—"What, but sorrow, can we feel at the misguided piety which has set free so many of them!" Passing over this wickedly pathetic lamentation at acts of obedience to the Divine law, we are struck with the deep-rooted antipathy the society manifests toward their coloured brethren, and the deception practised, if the above statements be true, when these same parties represent this people, once landed on the shores of Africa, as amply prepared to civilize and convert that continent. Indisputable facts prove that these representations of the free coloured people are gross exaggerations, and literally untrue. This antipathy is founded, principally, on the dread of the free blacks interesting themselves in behalf of the slaves, and awakening in their minds the desire of liberty. Hence, the former are denominated "walking mirrors, who reflect the light of freedom into the dark bosoms of the slaves." Let the views of the American Colonization Society be fully realized, and the last hope of liberty for their bondmen will be extinguished. This fear is confirmed by the unblushing statements of the society's reports. "What is the free black to the slave?—A standing perpetual excitement to discontent; the slave would have little excitement to discontent but for the free black."—*15th Annual Report*. The objects of the society "are, in the first place, to aid ourselves by relieving us from a

species of population pregnant with future danger and present inconvenience."—*7th Report*. In the exuberance of its charity, the society thus denounces the men who fought their battles, who have contributed to their amount of national dignity and importance:—"Let these 300,000 men be banished, and the security of the slaveholder will never be broken by the uplifted voice of freedom contending for equal rights."

The policy which originated this society is further seen in its dread of the increase of the slave population. In an appendix to the Fifteenth Annual Report, page 40, a calculation, addressed to the fears of the slave-holders, is made of the increase of the slaves during the last forty years. From this it appears that in 1790 the total number of coloured people, free and slaves, in the United States, was 757,098, and that in 1830 they amounted to 2,230,039. It is argued that, at the same ratio of increase as took place in the last ten years, this population, in 1870, will number 7,491,737. In South Carolina the coloured population already exceed the whites, and from these appalling facts an argument is drawn for the colonizing of at least 50,000 annually. Let this be effected, and the remaining victims of oppression will still be manageable; but suffer them to multiply by a natural yearly increase, and the legislators must, ultimately, from a regard to national safety, adopt measures for the abolition of slavery, and raise the proscribed sons of Africa to the dignity and privileges of citizens and freemen. Every cargo of coloured men wafted from the shores of America, tends to postpone the day when slavery shall terminate, and goes to rivet more firmly the chains and fetters by which the slaves are bound. This is broadly avowed by the friends of the society: the Hon. Mr. Archer of Virginia, at its last annual meeting, said of the slaves, "If none were drained away they would become inevitably and speedily redundant; when this stage had been reached, what course or remedy remained?—was open butchery to be resorted to, as among the Spartans with the helots? or, general emancipation and incorporation, as in South America? Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe; could they be avoided? and if they could, how?—There was but one way, and that might be made effectual, fortunately!—It was to *provide and*

keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment. This might be done effectually by an extension of the plan of the society; the drain was already opened, and all that was necessary would be to provide for the enlargement of the channel, as occasion might demand." In this sentence, which the society has printed in italics, its intention is honestly avowed; how barefaced then must be the impudence, and how repulsive the quackery which would palm the society on the credulity of Englishmen as a benevolent scheme, aiming only at the benefit of the African race! But there is no hesitation about such assertions in America, however the real object may be disguised in this country; witness the following extracts selected from different journals advocating the society:—"The object of the Colonization Society commends itself to every class of society; the landed proprietor may enhance the value of his *property* by assisting the enterprise. The tendency of the scheme and one of its objects is to secure slave-holders and the whole southern country; it will render the slave who remains in America more obedient, more faithful, more honest, and more useful to his master."—*African Repository*. "None are obliged to follow our example, and those who do not will find the value of their negroes increased by the departure of ours."—*Western Luminary*. "By this the value of the slave will be enhanced."—A more wicked appeal to the cupidity of the human heart could not be made than that contained in these quotations, and never were the friends of the negro in this country so completely misled as when they thought well of this scheme as one that would at least promote the views of the abolitionists. Diminish the number of the slaves, and those remaining become more valuable, and their gradual emancipation becomes impracticable.

It is said that the society does not interfere with the question of slavery. This we have already seen is a fallacy; it interferes for its support. It is an enemy to immediate abolition, and opposes every instance of emancipation, unless accompanied with banishment. One of its friends says, "No scheme of abolition will meet my support that leaves the emancipated blacks among us." "It would be as humane to throw them from the decks in the middle passage as to set

them free in our country.”—*African Repository*. “They will annex the condition that the emancipated shall leave the country,” is the official announcement of the society in its second annual report. Thus, these deluded men are resolved never to let the oppressed go free, unless the Atlantic billows heave their everlasting barriers between them and the victims of their cruelty. They do not for a moment regard slavery as a crime, but, on the contrary, plead for it. B. B. Thatcher, of Boston, one of the warmest friends and ablest champions of the society, drew up an article on its history and principles, which was published in the *North American Review* for July, 1832. In this he declares that “slavery is regarded by the society as a legitimate system, which they have no inclination to disturb,” and that “individual freedom and happiness are properly subordinate to the public good.” It recognises slaves as property, and deprecates the least interference with it. The Hon. Henry Clay, at its first annual meeting, declared that “he was himself a slave-holder; and he considered that kind of property as inviolable as any other in the country.” “The society has at all times recognised the constitutional and legitimate existence of slavery.”—*Tenth Annual Report*. It is, in fact, impossible to look through any of its reports or organs of opinion, without finding repeated apologies for slavery and slaveholders. Its first President was a slave-holder, and many of its most powerful advocates are of the same class. No wonder, then, that though in the commencement of its career it met with the decided opposition of the slave-owners, who were too short-sighted to discern its ultimate effect, yet now, understanding more clearly its design, they rally round its standard, and trumpet forth its fame. “It is a gratifying circumstance,” says the Rev. B. Dickinson, in a sermon before an auxiliary colonization society, “that the society has obtained its most decided and efficient support from the slave-holding states.” This fact is sufficient to demonstrate the real character of the enterprise, and the amount of patronage it deserves from the anti-slavery party in this country.

One powerful objection to the society is found in the circumstance, that just in proportion as its principles prevail, the affections of the benevolent are alienated from the coloured

population, and anti-slavery efforts are checked and neutralized. It calls off the attention of the Christian public from the great and solemn duty of seeking to unloose every burden, and to let the oppressed go free; it lulls the consciences of men to slumber, and deludes them into the belief that they are engaged in doing all that their position allows for the benefit of the negro. The free coloured people of New York have published an address, in which they declare "the Friends have been the last to aid the system pursued; and in proportion as they become colonizationists, they become less active, and less friendly to our welfare as citizens of the United States." A letter from Arnold Buffum, president of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, recently received by a distinguished philanthropist in this country, contains the following melancholy declaration: "We have had anti-slavery societies in this country upwards of forty years; and we now see upwards of 300,000 persons enjoying freedom and gospel privileges, the result of anti-slavery principles and measures, which were producing a constant succession of emancipations, until the Colonization Society was organized. But now we have to mourn that these principles have been nearly paralyzed, and that emancipations have almost ceased, through the withering influence of that scheme. By establishing the principle that blacks are not to be free in this country, they reconcile the slave to his bondage; by exciting unholy prejudices against free blacks, they reconcile the Christian community to the continuance of slavery, and thus put a stop to anti-slavery efforts. The press and the pulpit have been almost unanimously enlisted in the unholy crusade against the free coloured people; and the poor black or brown American children have been for the last ten years almost deserted by the sympathies of human nature: scarcely a tongue was heard to lisp an accent in their behalf." Such are the fruits, and what can be the character of the tree! Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. Can the same fountain send forth bitter water and sweet? Judging of this society from its consequences, it deserves unqualified disapprobation, and so far from claiming the support of Chris-

tian men, it should meet with their decided, united, and persevering opposition.

It is well worthy of observation, that the colonizing scheme was originated and carried into effect without the slightest regard to the wishes and feelings of the people upon whom it was destined immediately to act. It never became a question with its advocates, whether the free people were willing to be exiled; their prejudices or inclinations were never for a moment consulted; and it is now well known that they are decidedly opposed to the banishment proposed. This is fully admitted in the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Society, page 9. "When the society is spoken of as an institution which is to relieve us of a present and pressing evil, and which may relieve the country of a prospective, and, perhaps, not distant danger; when such views are strongly urged upon the self-interest of the nation, the people of colour are not ignorant of this aspect of the subject: they read—they hear—and when they are spoken of as a nuisance to be got rid of, they prove themselves men, men of like passions with us, by resenting it. Their prejudices are roused: they stand aloof from the design. And the fact is not to be concealed, *that the free people of colour, taken as a community, look on our undertaking with disaffection.*" Still this is not to be regarded; it is not suffered to retard the operation of the plan; and *nolens volens* the free coloured people must be colonized, because the society denounces them as an incubus on the energies and prosperity of its enlightened republic. They have publicly met in New York, in Boston, in Philadelphia, and in all the principal cities of the Union, and protested, in affecting and imploring terms, against the iniquity of banishing them from the land of their fathers. They say, justly, "We are not strangers; we are American citizens: our fathers were among the first that peopled this country; many of them fought, and bled, and died for the gaining of her liberties; and shall we forsake their tombs and flee to an unknown land? No! let us remain over them, and weep, until the day arrive when Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand unto God." At Philadelphia they resolved "We will never separate ourselves voluntarily from the slave population in this country; they are our brethren

by the ties of consanguinity, of suffering, and of wrong ; and we feel that there is more virtue in suffering privations with them than in fancied advantages for a season." These pathetic appeals and noble determinations are lost on the benevolent supporters of the Colonization Society. Their avowed resolution is to transport them *with their own consent*. But how is this to be obtained? The society is doing it effectually. Its operations widen the breach between this people and the whites by increasing the prejudices of the latter a hundred-fold ; and to this may be traced the recent enactment of the most cruel and persecuting laws. Louisiana has just passed a law prohibiting Sunday schools for the instruction of blacks, on a penalty of five hundred dollars for the first offence, and *death* for the second ! It was also enacted that whosoever shall make use of language in public or private, or make use of signs or actions having a tendency to produce discontent among the coloured population, shall suffer imprisonment at hard labour, —not less than three years, nor more than twenty-one years, or *death*, at the discretion of the court ! The States of Ohio, Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and several others, have passed laws of a most iniquitous and rigorous nature, aiming at the expulsion and persecution of the free coloured people. By the aid of such zealous coadjutors the design of the society may be accomplished. The miserable victims of such cruel oppression may in time give their consent to leave the land of their birth, and be located far from the haunts of persecuting white men. The legislators who have made these unrighteous laws are in their individual and collective capacity advocates of the Colonization Society.

All this is justified by the fallacious assumption that Africa is their native land, and in this lying pretext they are to be sent to the pestilential shores of a barbarous and heathen country. "Africa," says the society, "is the black man's home physically ; morally he should aspire for a residence within her boundaries ; *Liberia is the birthplace of the black man*, to which his constitution is peculiarly adapted." The ignorance displayed in this assertion would be highly amusing but for the painful effects which result from its adoption as an undoubted truth. Is Africa the birthplace of the man

born in America?—is it more the birthplace of the coloured than of the white American? The notion is preposterous. And yet on this stupid assumption the Colonization Society argues the justice of banishing the coloured people, and appeals to the inefficiency of Christianity for support to the act. Hear its language at page 17 of the Fifteenth Annual Report: “The *managers* consider it clear that causes exist, and are operating to prevent their improvement and elevation to any considerable extent as a class in this country, which are fixed not only beyond the control of the friends of humanity, but of any human power. Christianity cannot do for them here what it will do for them in Africa. This is not the fault of the coloured man, nor of the white man, nor of Christianity, but an ordination of Providence, and no more to be changed than the laws of nature.” The impiety of this reasoning is painfully obvious; it is an attempt to charge that God who is no respecter of persons, and who has made of one blood all nations of men, with the crimes perpetrated by the haughty whites against their weak and unoffending coloured brethren. But why are they degraded? and where lies the impossibility of their mental and moral elevation? Not in physical incapacity, as is plainly shown by numerous instances in which the result has been accomplished, but simply in the prejudices and hatred of the whites, which the scheme of colonizing is nourishing and deepening. What must be thought of the men who use all means to depress and keep in ignorance the coloured people, and then make that ignorance and depression a plea for their expulsion? In the year 1831 it was proposed to establish a college, for the education of coloured youth, to be located at New Haven, Connecticut. This project, so far from being acceptable to the philanthropists of that city, awakened their alarm and indignation, and several public meetings were called to oppose the measure: these men of nobler blood resolved to “resist the establishment of the college by every lawful means,” fearing it would “propagate sentiments favourable to the immediate emancipation of the slaves.” This occurred not in a slave-holding state, but in one free from that abomination, and distinguished for its enlightened liberality. “If they do these things in the green tree, what will be done in the dry?”

It is impossible to read the proceedings, and to study the opinions of the friends of colonization, without a full conviction that the Colonization Society is instrumental in nurturing the unhallowed prejudices which fearfully alienate the affections of the white population from their sable brethren. One of its advocates asserts that "God has put a mark upon the black man: the God of nature *intended* they should be a *distinct, free, and independent* community." Then why frustrate the Divine intention by holding them in bondage? But this is not the inference the Americans are disposed to deduce from this position; nature, they say, has fixed an inseparable barrier to an amalgamation of the two races; they never can unite; a fraternal feeling never can exist between them. Hence a coloured man, however intelligent, wealthy, or respectable, is not allowed to sit at table, or enter a public lecture-room with white people. This exclusion extends to the sanctuary of God. Coloured persons must not sit down with them at the table of the Lord, nor even remain in a house of prayer, except in the particular quarter set apart for their use, and this is generally in the most remote and worst situation; and, as if the distinction were to be perpetuated for ever, their very bodies are denied the right of sepulture in the burying-places of the white. This occurs in the land of liberty and of Christianity: this is done by people who prize the former too highly to see it cheapened, and thrown away upon the blacks; and who monopolize the latter, lest its value should be deteriorated by its extension to the sons of Ham! Well would it be if the insurmountable barrier indicated by these acts really existed; then no mulattoes, no slaves, would be found in the United States, whose skin is not many shades darker than that of their masters. Facts give the lie to the infamous distinction. That noble-minded and much-persecuted man, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, says on this point:—"In truth, it is so often difficult in the slave states to distinguish between the fruits of mixed intercourse and the children of white parents, that *witnesses are summoned at court* to solve the problem! Talk of the barriers of nature, when the land swarms with living refutations of the statements! Happy, indeed, would it be for many a female slave, if such a barrier

could exist.”* This witness is true, and receives ample confirmation from a work entitled, “Three Years in North America. By James Stuart, Esq.” The author states that in a conversation, at which he was present, “it turned out that the planter was frequently waited upon at table *by his own children, and had actually sent some of them to the public market, to be sold as slaves.*” It is not intended to charge the society in question as the originators of this foul prejudice, founded, as it is, on a perversion of existing circumstances; but it is intended distinctly to accuse them as its powerful auxiliary, inasmuch as they plead the supposed impossibility of elevating the coloured population to an equality with the whites, as a powerful reason for colonizing the people whose only crime is the colour of their skin. Justice, humanity, and religion would lead them to contend against the monstrous opinion, and shelter the coloured people from the attacks of ignorance and avarice, instead of which they apologize for the unhallowed antipathy of the whites, and declare that “those persons of colour who have been emancipated are only nominally free, and the whole race, so long as they remain among us, must *necessarily* be kept in a condition full of wretchedness to them, and full of danger to the whites.”—*Second Annual Report of New York State Colonization Society.*

A strong objection to the operations of the society is found in the fearful waste of human life attendant on the removal of persons from America to the pestiferous shores of Africa. Much has been said on the salubrity of Liberia, and there is reason to fear more than can be borne out by facts. The admission of Captain Weaver, in his letter to the managers, published in the Appendix to the Fifteenth Annual Report, confirms this suspicion. He refers to the extensive mortality among the emigrants who were sent out in the Carolinian, and says,—“Nature seems to have ordained, that on a removal from a temperate clime to the torrid zone of Africa, in order to become *acclimated*, it is necessary, in most cases, to pass through the ordeal of fever.” The friends of humanity have

* Vide “Thoughts on African Colonization,” p. 145,—a work which contains a mass of evidence by which the Colonization Society is judged and condemned out of its own mouth.

a right to ask why the coloured people should be exposed to this ordeal, and why their lives should be placed in jeopardy? Is there not territory sufficient for them in the United States? Have they not as great a right to the peaceable possession of that land as white men have? Have not the descendants of Africans as indisputable a claim to a residence there as the descendants of Englishmen? The laws of reason and revelation decide in the affirmative; the fears, cupidity, and savage antipathy of slave-holders reverse the sentence, and declare that the sable hue of the race is a crime only to be expiated by exile for ever.

If there be any advantage connected with the colony of Liberia, it is in the promise it holds out of checking the African slave trade. But even this is sadly over-rated. The only way to put a period to this nefarious traffic is by the total abolition of slavery throughout the world. Let negro slavery be extinguished in our colonies and in the United States, and the example will be imitated speedily over the face of the globe. The supply will be always equal to the demand, and the puny efforts of single colonies, unless they lined the whole coast of Africa, would be altogether insufficient to terminate the evil. The attention of the society might, however, be profitably directed, in endeavouring to terminate the internal slave trade carried on in its own country, and to stop the smuggling of negroes into the Southern States from Africa; and this can be done without any waste of human life, and without the immense expenditure of money required by its present schemes.

There is something like inconsistency in the notion that Africa is to be civilized and led to embrace Christianity by colonization. It should be remembered that the colony was founded in blood; by a murdering war against the natives, in which they were conquered by the superior skill of the emigrants in the use of fire arms. The Rev. Mr. Ashmun, the first agent, who unhappily fell a victim to the climate, thus describes the effect of their warfare:—"Eight hundred men were pressed shoulder to shoulder, in a compact form, and all exposed to a gun of great power, raised on a platform, at only thirty to sixty yards distance! *Every shot literally spent its*

force in a solid mass of living human flesh."* If such proceedings should never produce a war of retaliation, yet how is a population described by the advocates of the society as the most vicious, degraded, and dangerous in the world, to enlighten and convert the savages of Africa? If thus wretched in the land of privileges, is there no danger of their becoming worse in a heathen land? A letter from a highly respected coloured emigrant, the Rev. G. M. Erskine, dated "Caldwell, Liberia, April 3, 1830," gives some reason for this apprehension. After adverting to the ignorance of the emigrants, and asserting that the only school in the colony is a remnant of one at the Cape, he adds,—“This people is planted in the midst, and are daily conversant with a people that are not only heathen, but extremely partial in favour of their grovelling superstition. This being the case, whether is it probable that they will come over to us, or we go down to them? To me the latter is most likely, as it is the very essence of human nature to seek the lowest depth of degradation?”† But it is confidently predicted that this “degraded people” will, on breathing their “native air,” be metamorphosed into all that is lovely and virtuous. Let this be answered in the words of the Rev. Peter Williams, a coloured clergyman. “We are to be improved by being sent far from civilized society. This is a novel mode of improvement. What is there in the burning sun, the arid plains, and barbarous customs of Africa, that is so peculiarly favourable to our improvement? What hinders our improving here, where schools and colleges abound, where the gospel is preached at every corner, and where all the arts and sciences are verging fast to perfection? Nothing, nothing but prejudice. It requires no large expenditure, no hazardous enterprise to raise the people of colour in the United States to as highly improved a state as any class of the community. All that is necessary is, that those who profess to be anxious for it should lay aside their prejudices, and act toward them as they do by others.” If the society wish to improve the condition of this people, they may do it more effectually than by sending them to Africa; and if they wish to evangelize that country, let them send out enlightened and devoted

* *African Repository*, Vol. ii. p. 179.

† *Ibid*, Vol. vi. p. 121.

missionaries of the Cross. A few of these men would do more towards this end than twenty thousand ignorant colonists. But the fact is, this object forms no part of their plan as embraced in their constitution, though many individuals pledged to its support may look for such a result from its operation.

It is confidently asserted that slave-owners in the southern states are willing to emancipate a hundred thousand slaves, so soon as the means are found of conveying them to Liberia, and on this ground an appeal is made for pecuniary aid to the British public. These slaves are regarded as worth from £60 to £80 each; and the cost of transporting them is said to be £7 10s. If a most interested class of men are willing to sacrifice so much property, as they deem it, at the shrine of benevolence, is it not passing strange that the whole of the free states, with the benevolent persons not interested in slavery in the slave states, should be unable or unwilling to raise an eighth or a tenth of the amount that slave-owners are willing to give up? There is something in this view of the subject that awakens suspicion as to the correctness of the assertions, or as to the favour the society obtains in America. Why send an agent from a country every way prosperous and freed from debt to collect money from one depressed and struggling with poverty, for an object which, however good, may be easily accomplished by their own resources? The secret may lie here,—that as its real character is better known, the support it formerly derived from the northern states is in a way of gradual withdrawal, and the aid of Englishmen is implored to assist the plans of the interested southern states.

There is something imposing and specious in the scheme as exhibited by its friends, and hence it is by no means surprising that the partial approbation of some distinguished philanthropists has been obtained for it. This has been made the most of; the names of Clarkson and Wilberforce have been employed in its behalf; it must, however, be remembered, that their favourable opinion of it was expressed before both sides of the question were heard in this country. The venerable Clarkson, however, from the beginning protested against it as a substitute for abolition, and refused the sanction of his name

as a Vice-president of the society, and declined contributing to its funds; of late he has withdrawn all countenance from it, though he hesitates to become its avowed opponent. It cannot be doubted that many worthy men *have* supported the Colonization Society from the purest motives; even this is to be lamented, for "it effectually seals up the lips of a vast number of influential and pious men, who, for fear of giving offence to those slave-holders with whom they associate, and thereby leading to a dissolution of the compact, dare not expose the flagrant enormities of the system of slavery, nor denounce the crime of holding human beings in bondage."* It is cheering to the real friends of the negro to find that the most pious and enlightened of the American citizens are shaken in their attachment to the society. The tide of public opinion has begun to ebb; Arnold Buffom, whose sentiments are already quoted in this pamphlet, says, in reference to anti-slavery efforts, "We are encouraged beyond our most sanguine expectations, by the change which has already taken place in public opinion; clergymen, and editors of periodicals are beginning to see that they have been deluded; our cause is evidently advancing, and will eventually triumph over all the powers of darkness. When once we get colonization out of the way, anti-slavery principles will assume a prominent position in the benevolent enterprises of the age; the day will soon arrive when the protection of the constitution and laws of our country will be extended equally to all classes of the people, and the united aspirations of a nation's joy will ascend in grateful orisons to the throne of Heaven, and receive the approbation and blessing of the supreme Ruler of the universe." If the foregoing reasonings, founded upon the published declarations of the society, be correct, then is it the high and solemn duty of every man who ardently desires the hastening of this period, to oppose, determinately and perseveringly, the American Colonization Society, till its name and memorial shall have perished from the earth.

* Garrison's Thoughts, p. 19.

